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**ANALYSIS OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOs) IN
COMMUNITY RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF WORLD VISION
INTERNATIONAL (WVI) DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS IN GWEMBE
DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA**

BY

LAWRENCE MAUMBI MICHELO

SUPERVISOR: DR JOHN AKOKPARI

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Plagiarism Declaration

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Dedication

I dedicate this study to my mother, **Christetta Busiku Michelo**, for all the support, encourage, endurance, and sacrifices that we have made and gone through as a family during this period of my studies here in South Africa. To you, Dad (MYSRP), something bigger is coming! Above all, I dedicate this work to God, who never intended that anybody be poor on earth.

“Behold the handmaid of the Lord...”

“Glory be to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit ...”

“To The Greater Glory of God” (AMDG)

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Abstract

The study analyses the role of NGOs in rural community development in Africa, with a focus on Gwembe district in Zambia. The 1990s were a turning point in the development practices in Africa. This era saw the emergence of NGOs as a preferred mode of channeling development assistance by the donor community. NGOs were efficient, accountable, and closer to the people. They were able to make the communities own the development process. The state and its bureaucracy was vilified, demonised and condemned as incapable of service delivery to the rural poor.

The study used World Vision International Zambia operations and interventions in the Gwembe District. It endeavored to assess the extent to which NGOs have lived up to the development promises of the 1990s. Key to the study was the investigation into whether the communities own the development projects.

The study reviewed literature on the emergence of NGOs as important player in development in third world countries. In this review the study learned that the strengths of the NGOs was in that they were community focused, participatory, democratic, community oriented, cost effective and better at reaching the poorest. The major weaknesses of NGOs in Africa come from the fact they are dependent on donor money for their survival. They are a parasite to the poor. They do not care about the causes they champion. They produce low quality returns; they are engulfed in self-obfuscation, spin control and outright lying to justify their works. The NGOs are elite driven and do not care about the poor.

The study on World Vision in Gwembe found that most of the assertions on the strengths of NGOs in development were a myth created in the 1990s. The negatives of NGOs in development outweigh the positives. The study found that NGOs in Gwembe have failed to make the development process owned by the communities. The communities in Gwembe viewed the NGO as not accountable, unable to meet their needs and are not part of the development projects.

The community of Gwembe has been disempowered by the NGO elites who make all the decision about the programmes without concerns of the community. NGOs in Gwembe seem to believe now that communities are not capable of owning the development process.

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1 Preamble

This chapter gives the background information to this research. It states the problems under investigation, outlining key research questions and the objectives of the study. It explains the methodology that was used to collect and analyse the data. The chapter discusses the background of the study in the context of development practices that were implemented in Africa.

Development discourse shows how the state in African countries has not met challenges to transform and improve the livelihoods of its citizens. It is this disappointment experienced with state-led development that the international donor community, specifically the World Bank/International Monetary Fund, sought alternative means to overcome limitations of the government.

NGOs emerged as alternative actors that received funds from the international community for development projects and interventions. The failure by the state bureaucracy gave rise to NGOs in assuming responsibilities that were the domain of government. The NGOs argued that they were more rooted in the communities. The NGOs thought that their programmes were a true reflection of what the people desired. To fund NGOs projects was therefore interpreted as a means of development and meeting the desires of the people. Funds were given directly to the NGOs, while sidestepping the state, in the hope that these resources would reach and benefit the communities. The people would own the development.

Three decades later, the promise of giving ownership of the development process to the poor is far from reality. As a result, rural transformation has not been achieved, despite massive funding that the NGOs have received from the international community.

1.2 Background to the study

The study analyses how communities have been able to meet their development aspirations through NGOs. It focuses on the development projects of World Vision International Zambia (WVI) in the Gwembe District of Zambia. Rural transformation in the 1990s was predicated on the premise that the people would own development processes and projects at the community level. This realisation came with development paradigms that emphasised community participation as cornerstones of accountability, transparency and as the pinnacle of development.

Three decades ago, there emerged a developmental paradigm anchored in the concept of good governance. It had a strong emphasis on the principles of transparency, accountability, and rule of law in the management of public affairs. This new development paradigm redefined the role of state in development. Previous state development efforts had failed because they were not transparent and accountable. As a result, the communities did not have a say in development projects that sought to transform their lives. Bad public policy practices led to tendencies where state bureaucracy diverted resources meant for development away from intended purposes. Resources allocated for rural development never reached the intended communities because of inherent bad public policy of government agencies. The weaknesses that characterised state inefficiencies came to be known as the crisis of governance.

Good governance policy emerged as a cure to mismanagement, corruption, and negative tendencies that undermined development. The concept became popular because it promised to meet the needs of the poor by ensuring that communities owned the development process. The term good governance is not new in development discourse.

It gained popularity in the 1980s when the international financial institutions applied it to describe the need for African countries to change their management of public affairs. The term has been translated to mean different things to many people, organisations, and institutions. Through NGOs, resources allocated for development would be used for the intended purposes and reach the targeted communities.

This thesis examines this assumption and questions the extent to which NGOs have been able to meet the task of rural development through community ownership of the interventions. The study identified three distinct approaches in the way the multilateral international agencies have interpreted the term good governance.

The first approach, advocated by the World Bank (1989), looks at good governance through the lens of greater political and economic liberalization. The World Bank emphasised the need for increased accountability, free press, and civic groups (grassroots, non-governmental organisations such as farmers' associations, co-operatives, and women's groups) (World Bank 1998/1991/2004).

The second approach is supported by the United Kingdom through its development agencies (British Council and Overseas Development Assistance (ODA). It perceives good governance from a political perspective. In this, civil society plays a very important role in making governments more accountable, transparent, and democratic (Bervir and William 2003: 48-50).

The third approach is one advocated mostly by the multilateral and bilateral creditors and the UN agencies, rests on the neoclassical assumptions of the role of the state in the economy. The state is to play a minimum role in the management of the economy in predilection for the private sector and the market prerequisites for attaining good governance.

This study builds on the three notions of good governance. It adopts the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) operationalisation and conceptualization of good

governance. UNDP defined good governance in terms of people and participation, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency accountability in community owned projects (UNDP 1997: 2-3). By 1990, past development practices had revealed that the state was not in a position to actualise the principles espoused by the UNDP approach to governance. This led to the preference of NGOs as the best vehicles for guaranteeing people participation and ownership of the development process.

The UNDP approach pledged to ensure that the development process would be more sustainable, just, participatory, democratic, and environmentally friendly. Community ownership of the development process became the sure way of improving livelihoods. The international community decided to fund development agencies that identified themselves as vanguards of people ownership.

Since the state was seen as incapable of making communities own development process, external financing went to non-state actors. This funding of non-state actors (NGOs) was a major shift from the 1970's and 1980s' tradition where multilateral and bilateral aid was largely given to governments. In discussing this change, Howell (2002:117), noted that with 'the triumph of liberal democracy and capitalist routes to development, donor agencies have harnessed the concept of civil society to promote a paradigm of development that is no longer limited to the agencies of the state and market players'. This thinking was reinforced by perceptions that depicted NGOs as 'participatory, community oriented, democratic, cost effective, and better at targeting the poorest of the poor in the communities' (Zaidi 1999: 259). Consequently, NGOs became the new solution to the ills of state wastefulness in Africa.

The principles of good governance as epitomised by efficiency, accountability, proximity to and a genuine concern for the poor led to the rise to prominence of NGOs in the development agenda. The way the good governance paradigm has been applied in rural development at community level raises questions as to whether the communities actually do own the development process. The development practices of the post-1990s state

privatisation poses a challenge to rural transformation. This is so, given the centre stage that NGOs have taken in service delivery and development experiments in communities. This has necessitated a critical analysis of the use of NGOs in the quest for rural development.

1.3 Statement of the problem

State efforts at rural development had by the end of the 1980s not achieved the desired results. Laudable state interventions of the 1960s ranging from establishing cooperatives, provision of marketing facilities, rural credit, tractors to building clinics, schools and roads, were to make certain that development was realised in rural communities. These efforts, failed to bring about positive change in the lives of the people in rural areas. The failure to bring about this transformation was blamed on public policy practices that alienated the local communities from owning the development process.

Community ownership of projects interventions became the hallmark of realising the lost dreams of improving rural livelihoods. Through it, the principles of accountability, participation, and transparency in the development process would be attained. Community ownership of the development path was taken to mean that they (communities) would be the initiators and proprietors of the process from beginning to end. In a people-owned process, the voices of the poor would be heard in decision-making over resource allocation. In managing their own development this way, rural transformation would be guaranteed and made sustainable.

The study assesses how NGOs have implemented development projects to ensure that communities own the interventions. It establishes the extent to which the poor people really own the development process as envisaged in the ideals of good governance. It seeks to establish the extent to which NGOs have managed to make communities own the development process. The study uses World Vision International Zambia, to assess the

extent to which NGOs have made the development process owned by the people of Gwembe.

1.4 Research questions

The study addresses three related research questions:

1. How has the World Vision International Zambia implemented its development projects in the Gwembe District to ensure community participation, accountability, and ownership of the interventions?
2. What role does the community play in the day-to-day implementation of the activities to ensure ownership, participation, and meeting changing needs of communities?
3. Why is World Vision Zambia still assisting the communities in Gwembe where it has been operating for close to three decades? Is this an indication of failure in meeting the development needs and aspirations of the people as promised to them in the 1990s?

1.5 Objectives of the study

1.5.1 General objectives

The general objective of the study is to analyse the extent to which World Vision International Zambia has applied the tenets of good governance to ensure that the rural people of Gwembe District in Zambia meet their development aspirations.

1.5.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this thesis were to examine the nature of the projects undertaken by World Vision International Zambia in Gwembe Valley; to find out how the projects were decided upon and chosen; to find out what extent the community was

consulted in project identification, selection, implementation, monitoring and evaluation; to assess the extent to which the projects chosen were in line with people's needs; to assess the extent to which the people owned the development process; to examine whether the existing projects promote self-reliance on the part of the communities in meeting their development assistance; to establish the extent to which World Vision International Zambia programmes are structured to ensure community ownership, empowerment of the development process and projects.

1.6 Study design

The study employed a qualitative approach to data collection.

1.6.1 Methodology

The benefits of a qualitative research methodology lie in that it 'can be used to answer questions about the complex nature of the phenomenon, often with purpose of describing and understanding the phenomenon from the participants' point of view' (Leedy and Ormrod 2001: 100). This study used the interpretative method in data collection and analysis. By this method, the researcher benefited from the hindsight where the study is done in a situation where one 'enters the setting with an open mind, prepared to immerse themselves in the complexity of the situation, and interacts with their participants' (Leedy and Ormrod 2001: 102).

1.6.2 Study Instruments

The study used both primary and secondary data collection techniques. For primary data, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and field direct observations were used as instruments and methods for collecting data.

Interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis at national level, mainly with World Vision project staff. The following were interviewed; the Ministry of Agriculture(3); Ministry of Health (1), Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare(1); District Administrators Office(1); Ministry of Education (1). Interviews were conducted at district level aimed at gaining further insights to other aspects of World Vision International Zambia. Government officials and other relevant partners in development were interviewed. At community level, project beneficiaries, non-beneficiaries, community leaders (village headmen, ward councilors, church leaders, teachers, and health workers, including ordinary community members) were interviewed. Five of the ten community projects were interviewed.

The researcher took notes during the interviews and recorded the discussions on tape. The recorded interviews were transcribed, typed, and read several times to ensure a correct understanding of their meaning. Interviews were conducted in the local language, of which the researcher is a native speaker. The analysis of the data was done to extract patterns, themes, and deep-seated meanings in the responses of the interviewees.

The Interviews were complemented by a desktop review of studies, evaluations, and project documents of World Vision International Zambia. The framework of the discussion and analysis has been within the theoretical discourses on good governance, development theory in the context of rural development, and people empowerment.

1.6.3 Limitations of the study

Within the scope of this minor dissertation, I selected World Vision International in Gwembe district, Zambia as the NGO of focus. Though issues of governance and accountability are sensitive to NGOs, I managed to get project documents, evaluation reports, and partnership agreements from world Vision International Zambia. The NGO also provided for three weeks of office space, time, and opportunity to interview their staff and visit five out of ten project sites in the Gwembe district. The NGO prearranged

the meetings with the five of the ten communities. As a result, the communities had prior knowledge of the interview questions and were prone to answer in a particular way. This limited my analysis in that I had to spend a lot of time to get the interviewees to open up and discuss freely what they actually thought of World Vision projects.

Despite confidentiality clauses between World Vision and the Luumbo Area Development Project committee, I managed to have frank and open discussions with the leaders, project beneficiaries and traditional leaders in Gwembe. The district government officials in Gwembe were also open in their responses despite their association with the NGO staff.

Chapter Two

2. Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter is an overview of the literature on development and NGOs in Africa. It discusses development theories of modernisation, dependence, and neoliberalism as they affected Africa. A discussion of the concept of Good governance, arising out of the failures of modernisation and dependency theorems, follows. Good governance literature, is reviewed as it relates to the rise of NGOs in African rural development.

The chapter defines what NGOs are. It distinguishes NGOs from the state and civil society. It examines the role and place of NGOs as development agents different from the state and market. It defines development in the context of the challenges of rural poverty that confront Zambia. The chapter broadly discusses the theoretical and practical aspects that confront Africa's quest for a development process that works for the people.

2.1 Development paradigms

2.1.1 Modernisation and development

Post-independence African development practice was a reflection of the social science thinking of the day. Scholars of development were influenced by theories that attempted to explain change, progress, and growth. The newly independent African states became laboratories for scholars of social change; leading among these was the modernisation theory (Pye 1965: 11-13).

Modernisation theorists discussed change within the notion of political development. Change referred to the degree to which patterns of behaviour identified as contemporary prevail over those considered customary.

Change took place 'when achievement considerations replace ascriptive standards, when functional specificity replaces functional differences in social relations and when universalistic norms supersede particularistic ones' (Pye 1963, Inglehart 1997). This change was linear and followed logical steps.

Rostow (1960:4-11) came up with a paradigm that clearly outlined the stages of development. The first stage was traditional, through which societies progressed to reach the final phase of high mass consumption. The United States and other western countries were presented as the ideal and *the* examples of the highest stages of development. Third world countries were simply to follow the European model for development. They had to modernise as a precondition for development. How this modernisation was to take place became a subject of speculation.

Samuel Huntington (1965) argued that it was necessary to differentiate between development and modernization. Development, according to Huntington was a systems response capacity in relationship to demands placed on it. Modernisation was associated with changes associated with society's increasing control of the natural and social environment. These changes were due to technological and scientific revolution of the past centuries (James and Hardgrave 1981:44-48). The societal structure that allowed people to manage these changes had its own term, political development.

Political development emerged as a distinct term in the modernisation parlance. Different scholars (Diamant 1966:92-93, Einstadt 1962:261, Almond and Powell 1966: 323) have defined the term in various ways. It came to be generally understood as 'capacity of man to initiate and institutionalise new structures, and supporting cultures, to cope with or resolve problems, to absorb and adapt to continuous change, and to strive purposively and creatively for the attainment of new societal goals' (Coleman 1971: 76-79). Gabriel Almond (1966: 37) defined capacity, in the context of political development, in terms of extractive capabilities, regulatory capability, distributive capability, and symbolic capability. The institution mandated to carry out these tasks was the state.

Modernisation theorists looked to the state as a key actor in the process of changing the old with the new. The idea of state interference in the economy was also an issue of contestation in economics. John Maynard Keynes advocated for state a degree of state intervention in the economy. This was quite the opposite of what liberal economics preached.

Classical economics pointed out that free market system was the best way to economic growth and efficiency (Gilpin 2004: 56). Free market was interpreted to mean no state interference in market operations. Free trade, as an engine for development was attainable through free market policies. Some classical economists who advocated for state intervention contested the principle of free market. John Maynard Keynes (1963) was the leading proponent of state interventionist policies in economics.

State intervention in third world countries, where the structure of the economies was characterised by market failure and market imperfections, made more appeal to development practitioners. This was mainly because the market was both incapable and unable to allocate resources efficiently. In this case, government had to intervene. Keynes argued that 'the state should spend and invest where the individual could and would not' (Balaam and Veseth 1996: 56).

In Africa, this took a deeper meaning where the state had to intervene to bring development to the people. State intervention went beyond meeting the irrationalities of individuals to 'setting prices for many goods and services, subsidising domestic industries, imposing trade barriers, regulating financial markets and keeping wages low' (Hermes and Weimer 1999:6). These measures were in line with the belief of fulfilling the dual tasks of building the nation and developing the economy. Influenced by arguments in the development discourse, African leaders undertook ambitious transformational projects. Growth and development became concepts, which described the social transformational projects embarked on. Benefits such as free education, health services, and clean water to all citizens embodied what came to mean taking development to the people. This took the form of welfare development.

Hyden (1983: 2-3) pointed out that welfare programmes was a key characteristic of development in Africa. African governments ended up with rapidly expanding social service sector, first characterised by large-scale investments in new facilities. This subsequently resulted in overwhelming recurrent expenditures. The relative degradation of growth and in many cases the inadequate attention paid to the requirements of a functioning national economy led to failure to sustain welfare programmes. There was not enough revenue and production to sustain the welfare programmes. As a result, the gap between revenue and expenditure quickly grew out of hand. The economic crisis that ensued was a testimony of the inadequacies of academic theories that influenced development practices in Africa. Development practitioners and scholars began to doubt modernisation theory as a right paradigm for Africa.

The optimism that had come with the advent of the modernisation theory waned. Political events on the continent had vindicated Huntingtons' critique of modernisation theorist's assumption. Political development could lead to degeneration of society as demands placed on the system could not meet the expectations of the people. The wave of military coups and one-party dictatorships that mushroomed on the African continent discredited the assumptions of modernisation theory. Alternative paradigms of dependency theory emerged to explain development challenges of the third world countries from a different perspective.

2.1.2 Dependency and development

Dependency theory emerged as a paradigm that sought to explain Africa's predicament from a different perspective as of that of modernisation. Its proponents were mainly Latin American scholars such as Raul Prebisch (1967), Peter Evans (1979) Henrick Cardoso (1979), and Andre Gunder Frank (1967), and the Egyptian scholar, Samir Amin (1990).

This group of scholars looked at economic data, examined development, and concluded that what they were seeing in Latin America was not development but underdevelopment.

Primarily, these scholars gave a new reinterpretation of capitalism and the capitalist system. They called Latin American economic structure dependant capitalism, a system that was not self-sustaining. They coined concepts of 'peripheral' (representing the underdeveloped) and 'the centre' (the developed) and argued that the 'centre' was benefiting at the cost of the 'peripheral'. It was a zero sum game and not a positive sum relationship. The arguments that led to such conclusions were criticisms of modernisation theory.

Dependency theory contested most of modernisation theory's assumptions. It rejected the traditional/modern dichotomy espoused by modernisation proponents. It argued that contrary to assertions of modernisation, the rural sector of the society was being underdeveloped by the urban sector for cheap products (food and labour). The rural sector would not necessarily modernise rapidly, even with state intervention. This had implications for the free trade belief of modernisation theory.

Dependency theorists disputed that free trade was the basis for economic development to all nations. According modernisation theory, the less advanced countries were to develop by means of international trade. They argued that third world countries were being underdeveloped through free trade. To prove this assertion, dependency theorists conducted studies of the international global trade regime. The root to development lay in the complete change of the international system. Policies were made which aimed at liberating the third world countries from the international community.

The policy prescriptions that followed from these debates were the adoption of import substitution industrialization (ISI) as a cure for the under-development ills. The ISI was widely embraced by most African countries in their development projects as the alternative to growth. By the end of 1970, economies in Africa were regressing. This was because the ISI policies could not stand the rising global oil costs and competition from private sector firms in international competition for markets. This coupled with the tendencies of these industries (ISI) to fall to political manipulation, led to gross inefficiencies and over bloated staffing levels. The economic crisis that resulted from

statist unorthodox economic practices, followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the rise and dominance of the free market ideology as the only way for managing countries.

In all this period of development experiments in Africa, multilateral institutions, like the World Bank, continued to be guided by the orthodox neoliberal economic approach (Akokpari 2006: 127). It was therefore not surprising that when third world countries turn to the developed world for economic assistance, the western countries prescribed liberal economic and political policies. This prescription of liberal policies was consistent with the belief held all along by the international multilateral and bilateral institutions that industrialised countries grew prosperous through free trade. Free trade was the only way through which third world countries would end poverty, hunger, disease and the crisis of underdevelopment. These ideas were rooted in liberal political and economic theory.

2.1.3 Liberalism and development

Liberalism, both as an economic and political ideology, is rooted in the firm commitment to free trade. It is founded on the eighteen century works of classical economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo. These advocated for minimum state intervention in the operations of the market. The market is the natural, most efficient mechanism through which human beings can meet their needs. Natural interpreted to mean having intrinsic laws that are fact of creation and being.

There are specific principles and laws that govern operations of the market. These principles are in line with human nature. Human nature is affirmed in the ideas that place emphasis on individualism, competition and freedom as a condition intrinsic to humanity. The market follows these natural laws through principles of supply and demand. These principles, when left alone, organise economic and social relations in such way the highest levels of efficiency, growth and better welfare for all. These liberal principles

meant change from bad governance principles that led to the crisis of development in Africa. The way term good governance was applied in Africa warrants a separate discussion of the term.

2.2 Good governance and the rise of NGOs in development

At rudimentary level, the term governance is used alongside words like authority and control. The term implies some form of action, manner or otherwise a system of doing things. Good governance is a very contested, fluid and feeble term in development discourse. Goran Hyden (1992: 5) defines good governance as a generic term referring to the task of running a government or an organisation. This definition uses the terms governance and government. Though similar the terms 'government' and 'governance', mean different things in the realm of management and public administration.

Governance, as distinct from government, means more than just management of political affairs. It includes the overall running of the economy. Defined from this broader perspective, the term governance came to have a distinct meaning and application in African development discourse and practice.

In 1990s, the political and economic chaos that characterised the African continent was identified as the crisis of governance. The political and economic structural changes that African states and societies underwent through in the 1990s were implemented in the spirit of enhancing good governance practices. At the forefront of promoting reform in Africa were the international development agencies and practitioners that found themselves working dealing with issues of government performance (Bratton and Hyden 1992). It is not first time that the international community was working to assist Africa in enhancing its capacities for development.

The international community had dealt with issues of government performance and effectiveness arose in post independence Africa. The challenges of state capacity that confronted the continent in the 1990s were of a different nature to those of the 1960s. In

the 1960s, African leaders turned to multilateral and bilateral partners for help in setting government agencies and training public servants. This was away of enhancing management of public policy. These programmes were not called governance but capacity building initiatives. When African government attained high levels of capacity, aid from west ceased. This was not for long.

In the 1980s, the discussion of government performance resurfaced under the leadership of the World Bank. The Bank, like the rest of world was concerned by the declining and continued regression of the African economic and political indicators. The reviews that ensued led to the conclusion that bad governance was at the heart of the African crisis. Unlike the 1960s where the term capacity building was used to describe development assistance to Africa, good governance became the language of the 1990s. It called for not only strengthening the capacities of state bureaucracies but for fundamental changes in the political and economic organisation of the African societies.

The Bank recommended a very concerted and systematic effort to build pluralistic institutional structures, a predicated on the respect rule of law, vigorous protection of press and human rights (World Bank 1989:61). These recommendations were informed by the studies of Elliot Berg (1981) and John Nellis (1986) that placed crisis of governance as Africa's major problem. Bad governance was manifested through the politics of patronage, clientelism and unparalleled quest for power at all costs by the elites of Africa. These politics undermined development. The need for improved governance in Africa got support from a wide range of people interested in fighting poverty.

Private development agencies supported the World Banks call for governance. These gave impetus to the dominance of the term governance in Africa's development discourse. Companies such as the Ford Foundation discussed governance in terms of accountability. Governance came to mean a system managing public affairs through broad based participation, fairness, and accountability (Ford Foundation 1990). Ford Foundation emphasised a participation that empowered the disadvantaged groups. This

way the conceptual framework of defining governance meant making services more responsive to the needs of the poor. In these conceptions, avenues for making participation and reaching the poor needed identifying. The condition of the state in Africa rendered it impossible to allow a people centered development participation.

The international community looked to structures outside state bureaucracy to guarantee people participation in development. The Ford Foundation cut back its assistance to governments in favour of funding NGOs as vehicles for civic participation and development (Bratton and Hyden 1992). NGOs found themselves having a greater role to play in development practices in Africa. Good governance was a resounding call that gave vitality and vigor to NGOs as champions of accountability, participation, and transparency. It is necessary then to interrogate the nature of NGOs, in development discourse, that made them qualify as fulfillment of people owned development process.

2.2.1 Defining state, civil society and NGOs (and development in Africa)

A good understanding of NGOs necessitates a pre-discussion of the term civil society. This is so because NGOs in this study are a subset within the notion of civil society. As a term, civil society is difficult to define. A more generally accepted definition is that which depicts civil society as an arena and space of interaction between family, state and the private sector (Sabine 2003, Callaghy 1994). Civil society then refers to non-state groups, organisations that seek to protect popular interest, and which enjoy relative autonomy from the state. This broad definition covers a range of associations. These include professional associations, sporting clubs, cultural assemblies, religious groups, trade unions, media organisations, NGOs, and socio-economic orientated organisations.

NGOs are only a part of the broader realm of civil society. While civil society refers to space outside the state, NGOs are defined as private organisations involved in development activities in which generating profit is not the only motive (Walle 2003:6). NGOs are marked out distinctly as organisations with a paid staff, formed to benefit not

only their members but also provide some service to non-members. In this way NGOs become, and are a sub-set of, the broader notion of civil society.

This conceptualization has not been spared contestation. White (1994: 22) points out that definitions of NGOs have oscillated between incorporating market based institutions and or every non-state organisation. The problem that arises from White's concern is how one would categorise civic institutions such as state run religious organizations, academic establishments, unions and public sector interest groups employed by the state. This led to others to look for the definition through geographical location.

John Clark (1991 34-41) defined NGOs in relation to geopolitical location. He distinguished Northern (Western Europe, United states and Japan) and Southern NGOs (Africa, Asia, and Latin America). In relation to the state and wider society, MacGann and Johnston (2005), referred to NGOs the third sector organisations distinct from the first sector (public sphere) and the second (private sector). Size, history, and type of intervention are other factors that can define NGOs.

This study refers to NGOs as national private, non-profit organisations involved in development work. They are also not membership organisations. These organisations receive support from internal (within Zambia) and external agencies to implement development programmes in Gwembe. They identify themselves as independent of the state and yet work for the public good.

The invoking of the state as the distinguishing feature of NGOs necessitates an understanding of it. Max Weber, the German sociologist, defined the state as 'that art of administrative institutional structures that claim legitimate command over a bounded territory' (Weber 1947). Scholars such as Naomi Chazan (1992) have pointed out that though the term state is contested in political science, there is a consensus about its meaning. It is acceptable to define the state as organized aggregates of relative permanent institutions of governance (Chazan 1992: 39). In its modern form, the state consists of a bureaucracy governed by legal-rational norms. The most important of these

characteristics of the state is its monopoly of violence. Charles Tilly defined the state 'as coercion-welding organisations that are distinct from households and kingship groups and exercise clear priority over all other organisations within substantial territories (Tilly 1992:1). Other elements arise that single out the state as it has evolved over the past centuries.

The state has been defined as a territorially rooted political unit attributed by central-decision making and executing machinery in the form of a government and an administration. In Africa, the state was an artificial creation (Tilly 1975). It did not evolve naturally like the state in Europe (Chabal 1986:13). What distinguished the state from other forms of organisation in society are its legitimate claim, control, and use of violence. Historically, the way the state manages public affairs, rules, and regulations has affected societies in different ways.

From 1648, the nation state has gathered certain characteristics that have become its defining features. One of these features is accountability to the economic wellbeing of people and subject of the state to be responsible by the electorates on this performance. In exchange for loyalty, inhabitants of the state gets protection from external aggression, enjoy liberty through law and order within the territory. Fair means of conflict resolution and arbitration to community through the courts is a right enshrined in the state. The state and its bureaucracy provide citizens with public goods, which, the citizens would not afford on their own. How the public goods created, distributed and shared in society has preoccupied humanity to date. At the centre of this is the role of the state in the creation and distribution of the wealth.

There are views that have called for the state to dominate and run the entire economy with no room for private property. Others propagate that state should be used to protect growth of local industry (where the state extractive benefits in terms of taxes and man power), leading to mercantilism. Yet still others have advocated for much freedom in trade. This means restricting the role of the state to allow for supply and demand in determining economic organisation. The contention comes in that both the state and the

market have limitation with negative consequences for society. It is these imperfections that have given rise to structures such as NGOs. A closer examination of the form and interaction between the state and the market illustrates the place of NGOs in development.

2.2.2 State, market and NGOs in society

Of relevance to this study of the state, markets, and society, are the strong disagreements regarding the relative importance of the state and the market in economic development. These arguments have been central to the conflict between the developed and the less developed countries. The relationship between the state and the market in wealth creation are stated ably by Robert Gilpin (1987). Gilpin observed that 'the state and its associational political processes affect production and distribution of wealth,...while markets and economic forces also affect the distribution of power and welfare among states and political actors' (Gilpin 1987:9). In a world where there was no state intervention, the market would allocate available resources based on prices for goods and services. Equally, in a world without markets, the state would allocate resources based on the social and political objectives. In human history three dominant approaches have emerged and reigned at different eras.

Three approaches¹ have emerged that place the role of the state differently in societal organization in the quest for wealth creation. The first is the liberal approach. The second approach is the nationalist and the third, is the Marxist approach. The first approach, the liberal perspective founded on the writing of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. The liberal approach believed in free market as the path to economic development. Scholars argue that third world countries, through state interventions, distort economic incentives, inhibit market forces thereby working against development.

¹ The three approaches used here are from Robert Gilpin's work in the political economy of international relations. It with this that the paragraph is predominantly refereeing to Gilpin. Other scholars (Susan Strange 1988, Baleem and Veseth 1996) have discussed the paradigms, but this being not a major component of the thesis; it is suffice to discuss them as presented by Gilpin

The other aspect of liberalism is a firm belief that society be organised on the principles of individualism, free market, and private property.

The second approach, nationalism believes that economic activities ought to be subordinated to the goals of state building and national interests (Gilpin 1987:31). Historically nationalism has manifested itself through different prisms mercantilism, statism, protectionism and the German Historical School. Recently a new form of protectionism has arisen. Nationalists believe that the path to in order to develop a country must first industrialise, after which they will be spillovers to other sectors of the economy. In this ideology emphasis and priority is the idea that the inhabitants of the state should own and control the economy. They see market relations as zero-sum in which there are winners and losers among states. To avoid losing and dependency, economic self-sufficiency and autonomy become important elements of national goals.

The Marxist perspective, the third approach defines the relationship between the state, market, and society in terms of dialectical materialism (Gilpin 1987: 35). They stated that society developed according to phases, with communism as the last stage of development where there would be no private property and no state.

Of all these, the liberal market approach has dominated modern day society organization. Despite its domination, the market approach has been criticised for creating uneven growth, mass poverty, and environmental degradation (Stiglitz 2002). The limitations of the liberal ideology have led to the rise of institutions that address the negations of poverty, environmental degradation, and uneven growth.

It is the limitations of both the state and the market that has seen institutions and organizations (NGOs) emerge with manifest goals of assisting people marginalised in a free market system. It is the association with those marginalised by the state and market mechanisms that the NGOs have been associated with humanitarian work. This associational life is traceable back to periods before the existence of the state. To the extent that associational life predates the state, it is possible to conclude that civil society

and NGOs arose earlier than the modern state civilisation. In the third world, the state imperfections that gave rise to the NGOs took the form of oppressing dissenting voices.

Meyer (1996:1190), Kaimowitz (1993:1139) Bebbington and Farrington (1993:200-205) have traced the earlier growth of NGOs to Latin America under the influence of liberation theology espoused by the leadership of the Catholic Church. Bebbington and Farrington (1993:2002) further point out that NGOs have their origin to left-leaning professionals. These left the public sector, such as universities, because of oppression and suppression from the postcolonial regimes.

NGOs became the means of expressing political ambitions and dissent. Others used them to pursue economic means, joining the sector with the sole purpose of earning a living (Bebbington and Farrington 1993: 201). According to Zaidi (1999: 260), these earlier generations of NGOs, were critical of their government, learning and getting their strength from their professional calibre and strong ethos. They rather created a nomenclatural aura, separate and distinct from the state. Zaidi (1999:265) argues that these NGOs were different from those of the 1990. The fact that NGOs are traceable alongside the historical development of the state is a pointer that they have intrinsic advantages in any societal setting that they emerge. In the 1990s, NGOs rose to become important partners in development. They had key positive elements that made them credible to international community and the ordinary citizens in third world countries.

2.2.3 Positive Views on NGOs in development

The development literature in the 1980s and 1990s is the celebration of the newfound NGOs as the best alternatives to the failure of state-directed growth initiatives. NGOs were lauded the best alternative because there were seen 'as often in touch and being responsive to the local needs of the ordinary people, having knowledge of local conditions and being responsive to local needs' (Uphoff 1993:619). In liberal political theory, civil society is associated with empowerment, democratisation, and participation.

The works of scholars such as Keane titled, 'The State and Civil Society' published in 1998, revived the liberal notions of civil society in the 1990s.

The rise of libertarian concepts and free market ideas gave support to the notion of civil society as institutions that would instill public accountability and the rule of law in a situation where states became the violators of the agreed norms. The Reagan-Thatcher regimes popularised free market and their anti-state policies. These were an expression of the belief in the neo-liberal policies of deregulation, privatisation, and liberalization advocated for the overall retreat of the state in economic affairs (Zaidi, 1999:260).

Zambia's development efforts in post independence brought out outstanding features of state weaknesses. The weaknesses experienced created conditions that led to the proliferation of NGOs. The development question and options for Zambia in the 1990s explained in the shift that occurred in the context of post-socialism and post-colonialism thinking that dominated the close of the 1980s. The post-independent development models of most African countries denounced capitalism and favouring socialist-oriented policies. Socialist oriented policies believed in people's ownership of the development process.

After years of state development in the name of capacity building and community empowerment, it became apparent in the late 1970s that this approach was not yielding desired results (Hyden 2006:9). Government bureaucracy and agencies did not work efficiently in the generating desired wealth for its citizenry. It became apparent to the international community that it was not wise to put all the eggs in one basket. The role of the state in allocating public resources in comparison to the market came to the fore in the face failure. This initiated policy framework that came with recommendations to reform the state.

This policy shift initiated the debate on how best to administer development *via* incentives. Public domain was reformed. These reforms, among other things, called for

the freeing up of resources controlled by the state. It became apparent that other institutions in society were better able to manage the resources than the state. The private sector was seen such an institution. This entailed bringing private and voluntary organisations into the development process. The idea that the market, private sector, and voluntary associations could play a significant role in working with people to realise their aspirations came to the fore (Korten and Clause 1987:145-148).

NGOs were development agents that could do what the government had failed to do for the people. They became an alternative for the donor community to fund development projects in Africa. It is in cognisance of the new thinking, that the World Bank placed priority and emphasis on assisting private sector led initiatives at all levels. It identified NGOs as recipients of official developmental assistance, particularly for rural transformation (World Bank 1989:14).

The nature of NGO operations in development in other parts of the world justified their claim to international support and financing. They are much closer to the poorer sections of society than the government; they are capable of putting ideas of working with the poor. One of the arguments in favor of NGOs is that they operate economically, cost efficiently, and have financial discipline. They are also more flexible, propped up as they are by the small and decentralised nature of decision-making. In addition, their independence from government structures provides an alternative opportunity to meet the demands for public goods and resources, and facilitates the work of individual government departments. The World Bank (1995: 15) identified the strengths of NGOs as 'strong grass roots links, field based expertise; ability to innovate and adopt a process of long-term commitment and emphasis on sustainability and cost effectiveness'.

After two decades of implementation, the validity of these assumptions is yet to be established. The study analyses whether NGOs have lived up to the ideals of the 1990, making the process owned by the communities thereby guaranteeing development.

NGOs, like all social structures, have negative tendencies that stand to jeopardize the positive elements.

2.2.4 Critical views on NGOs in development

The virtues of the NGOs also provide for their limitations. NGOs have a propensity to define their outputs as money disbursed rather than service delivered. Their programmes are judged by the budgets and funding that they get from the donors. This is often the determinant of new projects as opposed to peoples need. NGOs produce low quality noticeable outputs (expressed by polished, smooth reports and "frameworks"). They have little or no few tangible observable activities like ex-post evaluation. Most of these evaluations are done the same NGOs elites who out contact jobs to each other. Independent academic evaluation is either ignored and/or shunned by NGOs through extensive control of the processes or by manipulating budgets. NGOs engage in engage in obfuscation, spin control, and amnesia (always-describing aid efforts as "new and improved") exhibiting little learning from the past (Easterly 2002). This is at the cost of huge bureaucracy and work force demands.

They put huge demands on scarce administrative expertise third world countries. They have lured government civil servants to work for them through offering 'better' salaries and hefty per-diems. The treatment of international staff in comparison to the local in country staff exposes huge disparity. Relationships among staff are on the patronage, inequality, racism, and biasedness of against the local nationals in job placements. This is in favour of citizens from the donor countries.

NGOs in most of Africa have become increasingly representing the interests of the donor community or the external funding agencies to the detriment of the local communities they are supposed to represent and work (Zaidi 1999, Najam 1996). They become more preoccupied with getting donor funding for reasons of sustaining their employment even if this at the cost of real development. They take pride in and reinforce the donor

pessimism regarding state bureaucracy in Africa, which they are quick to point out to external funders, thereby undermining government capacities at all levels.

NGOs have viewed government departments as competitors for funding, and have worked in isolation from governments leading to a duplication of efforts and therefore denying the local communities the benefits of public-private partnerships at local level in the development agenda. The evolution of the role of NGOs in development represents a continuity of the work of their precursors. Missionaries and voluntary organisations that cooperated in Europe's colonisation and control of Africa are now masquerading as NGOs. This view further sees NGOs as pseudo governments, or surrogates of western powers, who want to displace the legitimate role of the state in Africa. In most of third world countries, the growth of NGOs was a resource-led, driven process that resulted from greater official aid. NGOs have become adept at getting external aid to the extent they implement projects that do not aim at finding lasting solutions to community concerns, so that NGOs can sustain themselves in the humanitarian aid sector.

The NGOs invest heavily in managing their images to ensure sustained flow of funding. They are preoccupied with entrenching themselves in keeping their jobs. The aid practitioners worked to entrench themselves in the development equation. The NGO continued receiving of international donor support is at the cost of sustainable development. All sundry arguments are in place to justify NGO work in rural development. When government sometimes gets too large and bureaucratic to deal with development projects, this is bad for development. The preference of international donor community was to work with the smaller, cost efficient NGOs. The crisis of Africa in the 1990s prompted the international community to look to NGOs as structures that would make resources reach the poor. Poverty situation in most of Africa was so bad that any efforts to reach the poor were commendable. The scale of human degradation and poverty levels in third world countries prompted the donors to look to NGOs as partners in development.

2.3 Understanding Development

The term development, though often used is very a much contested term and does not lend itself to simple definitions. In a discourse of rural transformation, it not sufficient to affirm the role that NGOs are have played since the rhetoric of good governance Africa bought them to the fore. Development at elementary level means growth, progress, and improvement. This deemed to be elementary because it does not help when one asks what progress is in comparison.

2.3.1 Development objectives and indicators

The task of every nation was the huge task of improve the great mass of humanity from poverty to acceptable levels of economic welfare (Gilpin 2001). This is one of the most daunting tasks facing humanity. The goals of development are lessening and eradication of poverty, discrimination, inequality, and unemployment within a growing economy. This means an increase in access, availability, and affordability of basic needs and necessities such as food shelter, safe water, protection, and health.

Development translates into better jobs, improved education, and general option of the people in terms of meeting their needs. This can be at individual, household, community, national, continental, and international levels. People must have choice and must choose the livelihood improvement models available to them without fear and a feeling of limitation. The term economic growth and economic development have dominated development discourse.

2.3.2 Economic development vs. Economic Growth

Economic growth is the process through which agrarian dominated livelihood patterns are replaced with non-farm industrially based activities. Society's outputs are attained

high levels of capital per worker. This occurs when the share of industry in an economy overtakes that of agriculture in the total national output. Today, high industrialisation is attained when service industry overcomes the percentage share of hard industry in national output.

Economic development on the other pushes the idea of economic growth to speak of humans directly. It invokes the idea that human beings are the primary beneficiaries of economic growth. People of the country must be key contributors in the process that lead to structural changes. They must gain and enjoy the outcomes of the transformation as well as the work that goes into the changes (Perkin 2001). Economic development comes to mean reduction in poverty, unemployment, access to good health, education, water, and sanitation. It is divorced in a way from measures like GDP, inflation and narrow economic indices that do not translate to human livelihoods' instantaneously.

United Nations has introduced the Human Development Index (HDI), which gathered world consensus on the measure and indices of development. There is a huge HDI disparity between rich and poor nations in the World. In Sub-Saharan Africa, nations have massive poverty, hunger, disease, civil wars and food insufficiency. These countries further suffer from marginalization in the international political economy (UNDP 1990).

In distinguishing between economic growth and economic development, it is important to state that the latter emphasizes the improvement of living standards of people. It means the material well-being of the people. It further goes beyond to refer to greater self-esteem, self-confidence and greater individual freedom and liberty to make choices. These connotations of human progress resonate Claude Ake's conceptualization of development. Ake defined development as 'as the process by which people create and recreate themselves and their life circumstances to realise higher levels of civilisation in accordance to their own choices and values' (Claude Ake 1996; 125). People are the epicentre of the development process.

This is at odds with the idea that an outsider in the form of a person or entity, set apart from the community descends to deliver 'development'. Development becomes a top down process something inflicted on persons that are to be 'developed'. When people own the development process, they have the power within then to end poverty. The conditions of poverty in Africa have had a bearing on the definition of development. The reduction of poverty is the sole purpose of development in Africa.

2.3.3 Poverty and development goals in Zambia

The eradication of poverty and its underlying causes is the principle goal of development (Clark, 1991: 20). Poverty, though variously defined, is about people's lives and concerns issues of 'health, life expectancy, diet, food shelter education, security, access to resources and other aspects of living standards' (Clark, 1991: 20). Clark (1991:20) contends that 'it is a relative concept'.

Robert Chambers (1983: 20) offers a compelling discussion on the causes of poverty. He gives five causes of poverty: poverty (itself), physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability, and powerlessness (Chambers, 1983: 21). To this list, Clark (1991: 21) adds 'environmental damage and gender discrimination'. Isolation, according to Chambers (1981:27) is a 'factor of physical and social components (these can be in the form of ostracism or illiteracy)'.

In Africa, poverty manifests itself mainly as exposure to natural disasters, physical incapacity, and or negative social norms. These render people powerlessness to the external forces. When it rains in Africa people die of floods. When the rains are not there, people equally die of drought. This expression of vulnerability and powerlessness comes with poverty. The external can refer to other people and structures (NGO elites). It can mean helplessness in the face of blackmail, violence, and deception. It is in this vein that the fight against poverty transcends the material aspect to include the metaphysical.

A comprehensive development approach needs to attack poverty and all its underlying causes. Clark (1991: 23) argues that a comprehensive approach would include:

nutrition and health projects to combat physical weakness; roads and education to combat isolation; disaster preparedness and crop insurance to combat vulnerability; and income generation to combat poverty must be combined with redistribution of assets; freedom of political ...,human rights,....gender and ...environmental protection (Clark, 1991: 23) .

NGOs found justification for external funding on grounds that they were working towards the elimination of the severe and worsening poverty situation in Zambia. These claims by the NGOs became credible because governments' increasing failure to attend to essential needs of the populations' vast majority and despite a huge agricultural potential lying idle. The idea behind funding NGOs is the acknowledgment of their place in development. It was in alliance with the state, private sector, and society. Zambia development trajectory is a good illustration that supports NGO claims to development.

Chapter Three

3. Zambia

3.1 Context of study area

This chapter describes context of the study area. It discusses this by pointing out the poverty levels in Zambia, distinguishing between its urban and rural dimension. Gwembe a rural district and goals of development are to eradicate poverty. World Vision intervened in Gwembe district with the aim of ending poverty. The chapter reviews World Vision intervention in Gwembe district with the context of prevailing poverty challenges that face Zambia.

3.2 Zambia in perspective

The challenge of poverty is not new in Zambia. During the first two decades after independence (1960-1970s), Zambians enjoyed the benefits that came with government programmes. There was increased income, life expectancy, school enrollment, and reduction in infant mortality and malnutrition. Copper prices were doing very well on the London metal exchanges, providing government with foreign exchange earnings that were to improve people's livelihoods. During this period, 65% of Zambians were leaving below poverty datum line.

From the 1970s onwards, as Zambia's per capital income began to decline, social indicators began to fall. The World Bank in 1985 classified Zambia as low-income country. This was a step down from its earlier classification as low-middle income country. By 1990, Zambia was on the list of least developed countries by the United Nations General Assembly. Many attributes explain Zambia's downward slide in its development quest. One major explanation is the concentration of the state resources on urban areas at the expense of the rural sector.

There is a divide between the rural and urban economic arrangements in Zambia. These have important implications for the discourse on poverty and development efforts in the country. One observer notes of Zambia's independence that:

The backbone of the space economy was its island of development along the line of rail extending from Victoria Falls to the Copperbelt 2.5 million hectares originally alienated for 700 white farmers in the 1920s, the capital Lusaka established in the 1931, the lead and zinc mines in Kabwe and the Copperbelt and its six to seven towns opened in the 1920s and 1930s. By 1964, this island accounted for 89% of the country's national income and 69% of blacks working for wages (Fair, 1992: 27).

The urban concentration meant the remaining 75% of the country's area, the rural areas, became reserve for labor in the mines. The rural areas, subsistent farming became the main livelihood source. It follows that two-thirds of Zambians live in urban areas and survive on wage employment while the rural dwellers rely on subsistence agriculture (Situmbeko and Zulu, 2004: 12). Half of the population of Zambia resides in rural areas, many of these scattered over vast tracks of land.

The rural communities live on subsistence farming and have little connection to market operations. They have little access to markets, good transport, and communications networks. There is a huge divide and contrast between the urban and the rural livelihoods and infrastructure. The populations in rural areas have less access to basic services compared to town dwellers. This was a phenomenon blamed on the colonial legacy. The post independence policies continued with the colonial status quo.

The Kaunda government, the first post independence administration did little much to change these urban/rural biases left by the colonial regime, despite its rhetoric on rural development. The first and Second Republic heavily concentrated its programmes on the development and investment in urban areas and a focus on areas of high potential to earn domestic income and foreign exchange. Rural development was confined to:

Assistance to small holders through credit, marketing, cooperative and extension services and fairer producer prices; promotion of small scale industry in identified market and service centers; regrouping of scattered households into more socially cohesive community groups; promoting intensive development zones of agriculture potential; improving transport facilities to make outlay areas more accessible; and

strengthening the institutional framework to improve plan making and implementation at local levels (Fair 1992: 28).

These rural development programmes implemented as outlined in policy documents. The declining economy, as illustrated in the earlier chapter, affected these policies. The government did little to improve the lives of the rural dwellers and the urban migration has continued over the years. Besides the declining economy, other factors were at play that left rural development in shambles. Constant changes in policies affected negatively on rural development. One of the negative effects to the system was the lack of an efficient, stable organizational framework for rural agriculture. This left frustration, distress, and demoralization among the provincial, district and sub-district agriculture staff.

To the peasant, there was a feeling of helplessness as the system failed to meet their technical, financial, and marketing demands (Fair 1992). The idealised cooperative societies became a nightmare: inputs arrived late; the prices paid to the peasant farmers were very low. This was in contrast to the urban dwellers that were enjoying subsidized food. Peasant farmers had no access to extension services and the impact of declining road infrastructure was playing in the hands of the peasant (Fair, 1992).

Economic policies implemented after independence put a lot of emphasis on unproductive investments in urban areas favouring of a privileged minority. This heightened rural underdevelopment, widening the gap between urban rich and all poor people. A comparison of urban and rural poverty between 1991 and 1993 depicted the above observation made by Dumont in 1979.

Percentages of total-sample	Urban		Rural	
	1991	1993	1991	1993
Core poor	29%	50%	76%	87%
Poor	17%	14%	12%	4%
Non poor	54%	36%	12%	8%
Children (under 5) stunted	35%	48%	46%	52%
Children underweight	20%	18%	25%	28%
Children wasting	7%	6%	5%	5%

Table 1: Incidences of Poverty in Zambia in 1991 and 1993²

The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) won the 1991 elections on the platform of free market economic policies. These policies did not in any way help rural poverty, as the table above illustrates

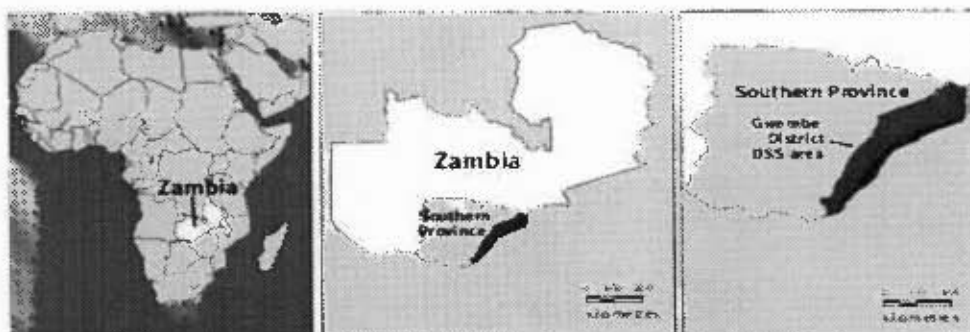
In the 1990s when western governments and donor agencies decided to channel most of development funds through non-state actors, for poverty eradication purposes, the rural areas provided a fertile ground for justifying such aid. NGOs such as World Vision International Zambia attracted donor funds for interventions in rural Gwembe district.

3.3 Profile of Gwembe District

Gwembe is a rural district in Zambia. It is located in the southern part of Zambia. Gwembe constitutes the middle third of the Southern Province's portion of the Zambezi Valley, which is from Chirundu in the northeast to Kafwambija in the southwest. Sinazongwe district borders it in the west and Siavonga in the east. The two sister-valley districts were, until the early nineties, part of Gwembe district. Other common borders are with Choma in the northwest and Monze in the north.

²

Sources: GRZ/MAHF (1995), World Bank (1994) Quoted in: Whiteside (1997:12)



Map 1: Map of Gwembe in perspective

Source: http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-43016-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html (Consulted on 16/09/2006)

The district forms part of the Gwembe Valley Livelihood Zone (VAC 2004:15)³. The zone lies in Southern Province of Zambia and includes the districts of Siavonga, Sinazongwe, Kalomo, and Kazungula. It has a population of 75,000 Tonga people. These communities of Gwembe moved from the land currently occupied by the Lake Kariba when the dam was constructed in the 1960s (VAC 2004: 15-16).

The Zambezi Valley, of which Gwembe forms a part, suffers from continuous drought. The area lies in very low altitude and as such experiences very hot and dry climate with an average rainfall of about 600-700mm per year (VAC 2004: 15). For this reason, even in the years of good rainfall in Zambia, Gwembe still gets belated and scanty amounts. Staple foods like cereal crops and maize take a long time to mature and dry due to the early return of the dry season. The annual harvest is generally too meager to support a family until the next harvest.

The landscape profile from any point of Gwembe's northern border to the lakeshore - a distance of about 70 kilometres - would typically look like this: Plateau - 10 Km; Escarpment - 40 Km; and River basin - 20 Km. The land is characterised by fast flowing,

³ The author of this thesis was part of the National Vulnerability Assessment Committee team that profiled Gwembe Valley livelihood. Most of the materials on the section of livelihood patterns have been adopted from the VAC Report, though other sources such as the Baseline Surveys of World Vision Zambia and anthropological studies and works of scholars such as Elizabeth Colson, were also consulted and resourced.

fast drying rivers, ravines and an undulating/cascading rocky terrain. This terrain poses a challenge to agricultural extension and service delivery.

3.3.1 Livelihood patterns in the Gwembe Valley

The major source of livelihood in Gwembe is small-scale subsistence farming and the rearing of livestock. Food crops cultivated are sorghum, millet, and maize. These are grown for household consumption with very little traded within the communities for income and in exchange for other consumables such as salt, sugar, and kerosene. For income purposes, cotton and vegetables are cultivated. Livestock kept are cattle, goats, as well as poultry. These constitute an important source of income, labor, and coping strategy in times of want.

The Gwembe valley/district is very prone to drought. For most, part the district experiences flooding in the early weeks of the rain season. These are followed by long weeks of dry spells. It is possible to experience floods and drought in the same season of the same year in Gwembe (VAC 2004:16). This situation becomes worse by a very mountainous terrain that is characterised by very fast flowing seasonal streams. Natural resource extraction is one of the major sources of livelihood in Gwembe. The district has a number of natural resources, which contribute to the political economy of the people. It boasts of Lake Kariba, rich in fish and water. Employment opportunities are mainly in the government (public sector), the private sector (consisting of cotton ginnery, farms and mining in the far-flung valley). People also migrate to work in the urban districts of Monze, Mazabuka, and Kafue (VAC 2004:15-16). A very important source of livelihood for the people in Gwembe, especially in time of food deficits, is food aid (VAC 2004: 16-17).

3.3.2 Social and economic characteristic of Gwembe district

To discuss the social and economic characteristics of the district, the thesis uses the wealth breakdown⁴ adopted in the livelihood profiling. There are four wealth categories found in Gwembe district. As shown in Tables 3 and 4 below, the major determinant of wealth are livestock ownership and the area of land cultivated.

		Wealth Group Information			
		HH size (per unit)	Average no. of oxen	Livestock	Land cultivated
Poor		6-8	2	0 cattle + 0 goats	0.5-1 ha
Lower middle		5-8	2	1-3 mature cattle (including 0-1 plough oxen) + 3-10 goats	1-2 ha
Upper middle		6-8	2	4-5 mature cattle (including 2-4 plough oxen) + 6-20 goats	2-3 ha
Better-off		6-8	2	>50 mature cattle (including 6+ plough oxen) + >20 goats	3-5+ ha

Table 2: Wealth categories (VAC 2004)

The wealth categories affect how the household, the community, and individuals respond to problems, opportunities, and challenges. The district communities have limited sources⁵ of income as Table 5 illustrates. In this economy, the 'poorest household would earn about ZK 400-500,000 in the reference year, compared to ZK 2-3,000,000 for better off households'⁶ (VAC 2004: 18)

⁴ There are three major wealth groups, classified as 'better off (10-20%), middle (20-30%) and poor (55-65%), but the poor can be split into those without cattle and those (described as the lower middle) with 1 to 3 cattle' VAC 2004.

⁵ The VAC 2004 reports informs us that 'The income and expenditure pattern presented here were for a the year 2003-2004. The graphs presents the sources of cash income and for households in different wealth groups in the Gwembe Valley livelihood zone for the period March 2003 – February 2004. It is difficult to present the income and expenditure patterns of poor households clearly, since a lot of the work that they do is directly for food or other items (including clothes and salt) rather than for cash'. (VAC 2004: 18)

⁶ 'In US dollars, poor households had an annual income of in the range of \$85-105, whereas better off households had an annual income of roughly \$420-625. The exchange rate was about US\$1 = ZK 4800 in July 2004. (VAC 2004: 18)

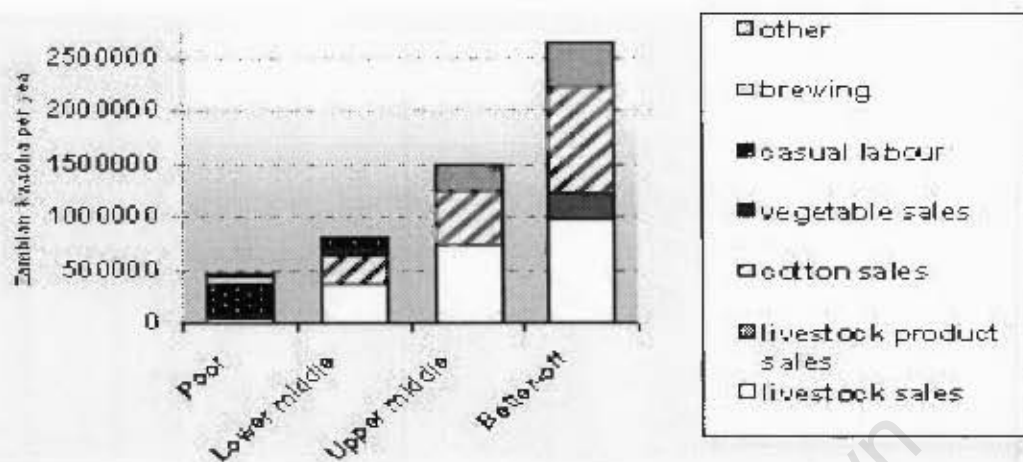


Table 3: Sources of income (VAC 2004)

Communities in the Gwembe District spend their income on consumption. The VAC study shows the size of the economy in the Gwembe district among the common people at community level. Richer households spend more of their income on inputs than the poor households do.

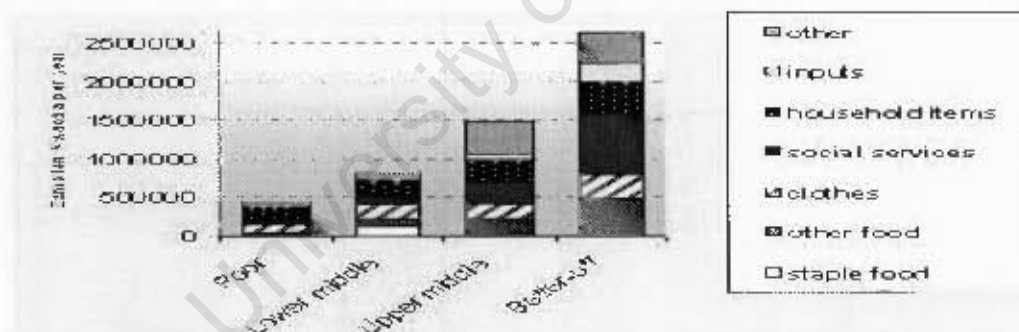


Table 4: Expenditure sources (VAC 2004)

3.3.3 Challenges and opportunities for development in Gwembe

From the general profile of the district and as identified by the communities, the major challenges that confront the region are natural. Weather vagaries top the list of challenges that confront the Gwembe valley. Livestock diseases and poor rainfall, drought and declining crop productivity are many of the problems that confront Gwembe

district (VAC 2004: 20). Table 7 below makes clear the opportunities and threats for development in Gwembe.

Implications for Programming	
Constraints <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recurrent floods and droughts • Lack of draught power for poor households • Livestock diseases and crop pests • Poor infrastructure (roads) and difficulties with marketing agricultural (and other) production • Untargeted free food distributions 	Opportunities for development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permanent solutions to recurrent droughts and floods through integrated water management schemes such as simple irrigation techniques for agriculture and small dams for livestock • Promotion of drought-resistant crops and of water harvesting techniques • Restocking schemes and other agricultural loans that are carefully tailored to an area with frequent bad years • Support to livestock disease and pest control programmes • Small-scale and locally appropriate road improvement schemes • Community-based targeting of free food distributions only in very bad years

Table 5: Threats and Opportunities for development (VAC 2004)⁷

It is in this context that NGOs such as World Vision Zambia have designed project interventions to make development a reality for the people of Gwembe.

3.4 World Vision Interventions in Gwembe

World Vision came to Zambia in 1981 at the invitation of the Zambian government. Its first intervention in the Gwembe district was a relief programme in response to the drought that hit the valley in early 1981. The relief programme run from 1981 to 1985. In 1985, WVI received special funding for rural community development projects. From 1985-1988 the NGO implemented community development projects (CDPs). These ended with the phasing out of the funding in 1988. The CDPs continued, though under different funding.

⁷ The table is cited from the VAC report of the Gwembe livelihood report.

The new funding source was the 'sponsorship project'. Under the sponsorship programmes, community development became secondary to child support. The child sponsorship project ended in 1997. This gave birth to the new programme known as the Area Development Programme (ADP), focusing on wider and bigger areas as opposed to the smaller community developments projects of 1985-1997.

During all the years of its work in Zambia and Gwembe district, the focus of WVI has been to reach out to vulnerable households, with special emphasis on children. The major areas of intervention are in:

3.4.1 Agriculture

Under the agriculture programme, WVI, implements the following.

- Training the communities in modern farming techniques.
- Supplying the communities with drought tolerant seeds: the targeted groups here being the vulnerable, but viable, households.
- Livestock restocking, specifically goats and heifers.
- Agri-business programmes to teach farmers the profitability side of agriculture.

The NGO collaborates with the Ministry of Agriculture in Gwembe district.

3.4.2 Health

In this programme, WVI collaborates with the Ministry of Health in Gwembe district and focuses on:

- Primary health care programme emphasising Under 5 clinics and antenatal and postnatal services to pregnant and lactating mothers.
- Environmental management to avert disease outbreak.
- Construction of health posts, health centers and houses for nurses and clinical officers.

3.4.3 Education

In the intervention, WVI collaborates with the Ministry of Education and works with the community on the following programmes:

- Support to vulnerable children with school fees and uniforms.
- Running adult literacy classes to recapture opportunities that some adults lost due to lack of schooling.
- Construction of classrooms and teachers' houses.

3.4.4 HIV/AIDS

WVI collaborates with the District HIV/AIDS Task Force, together with the community. Areas of specific intervention include

- Creating awareness in the community on the scourge of HIV/AIDS with emphasis on behaviour change.
- The NGO works on HIV/AIDS projects using three approaches:
 - Prevention - under this information is disseminated to all ages through posters and by means of peer educators.
 - The second approach is on care. Here some assistance is rendered in the form of giving nutritional foodstuff, bedding, clothes, and support to children, mainly those who were orphans.
 - The third way is through advocacy; here the NGO empowers the community across all age groups, so that they know how to handle issues of succession and inheritance without being drawn into conflict.
- Further, within the HIV/AIDS programme, the NGO has a youth training project in tailoring and carpentry.

3.4.5 Sponsorship programme

This is the backbone and foundation of project funding for WVI. Funding is received through the sponsorship of children. Currently the project in Gwembe sponsors 3,200 children. The idea behind this is that all the other projects mentioned above aim at making the home and community environment safe, good, and conducive for children to grow up in. In this regard, direct benefits that come to the children are in the form of support for school fees, medical treatment, and clothing.

WVI has adopted income-generating activities (IGAs) as key component in its intervention. The main one is a full-fledged and operational guesthouse and restaurant located in Munyumbwe, Gwembe. IGAs raise income for the community so that they can sustain and continue with the development projects after the NGO pulls out.

In its programme and project motivation documents, WVI states that poverty and the inability of government to provide most of the basic services are its justification for intervention in Gwembe district (World Vision Zambia 1997).

3.5 Development approach of World Vision International Zambia in Gwembe

To realise a people owned development process, World Vision International Zambia designed a programme implementation structure. This structure would guarantee participation, accountability and responsiveness to the need of the community. It is for this reason that the study takes time to review World Vision programme implementation structure. The state development structures in post independence Africa were criticised for disempowering communities. They identified as very highly centralised, politicised and not sensitive to the voices and opinions of the people. The state development structure was not responsive to the needs of the community.

NGOs developed implementation structures that were better than those of the state. The development structure, organogrammes were means through which the tenets of participation, accountability, and a people owned process was to be realised. Like all development agendas, the World Vision programme had an ideal philosophy that guided its interventions. This philosophy laid the design of the structure and organogram. This was the basis of partnership with the community in the development process.

3.5.1 World Vision development orientation

The World Vision International Zambia development approach is informed by Christian principles. Its' belief in development is sounded in the call that 'transformation is a continuous process of holistic change brought about by God and that people need to be free to discover God's work among them for themselves' (World Vision 2003: 3). The WVI uses the term transformational development⁸ to describe its activities in the community.

The core guiding development principles for WVI are; to attain the being of all girls, boys, families, and communities; to empowered girls and boys as agents of transformation; to restored relationships, dignity, and identity; to achieve interdependent and empowered communities; to transform institutions, systems, and structures so that they are responsive to the needs of the poor (World Vision 2003: 24).

Active ownership by the community of aspects of development is the goal of transformation development philosophy. Community ownership of the development process empowers whole communities and builds interdependent and empowering

⁸ *Transformational development* is defined as 'a process through which children, families and communities move toward fullness of life with dignity, justice, peace and hope. The scope of *transformational development* includes social, spiritual, economic, political, and environmental aspects of life at the local, national, regional and global level'' (World Vision 2003: 24). Fullness of life is taken to mean access to basic needs of 'food, access to health, education, cleans water, livelihood' (World Vision 2003: 6).

The notion of transformational development goes beyond the definitions given above. It is World Visions framework and guiding policy of its development work with the community. It summarises world visions response to the times with regard to development.

linkages with others' (World Vision 2003: 6). Therefore, WVZ collaborates with the community to ensure that transformational development takes place.

This collaboration aims at 'enhancing community's capacity to establish interdependent and empowering relationships with various development stakeholders at the national and international levels to address those matters that affect lives of people at the local levels' (World Vision, 2003: 12-13). The work of World Vision is to 'assist the poor and the oppressed as they pursue their transformational development, in partnership with sponsors/donors, governments, churches and other NGOs' (World Vision, 2003: 4)

The principles that guide the development process of World Vision are as follows:

1. *Community ownership*: Because *transformational development* is the responsibility of the people themselves, actions are taken that empower the community and all of its members to envision, plan, implement, monitor and evaluate the programme in an interdependent relationship with World Vision, local governments, businesses, churches and other NGOs. World Vision provides technical support, funding and technical oversight.
2. *Sustainability*: *transformational development* programmes are designed with the expectation that the changes are sustainable economically, environmentally, socially, psychologically and spiritually.
3. *Holism*: *Transformational development programmes* reflect an integrated physical-spiritual understanding of human beings; the world they live in and the way people develop.
4. *Mutual transformation*: World Visions involvement in *transformational development* seeks the continuing transformation of all partners, including World Vision staff, boards, donors as well as communities, churches, NGOs, businesses and governments. (World Vision, 2003: 6)

3.5.2 World Vision structure

To make the development idea work for the benefit of the people as stipulated in the transformation development framework, World Vision has a structure to help realise the vision. This structure has over the years changed and evolved in the light of new experience and knowledge. , the aim has always remained that of making the communities own the development process. The communities become the drivers of the projects and not the other way round. The following figure outlines the two structures:

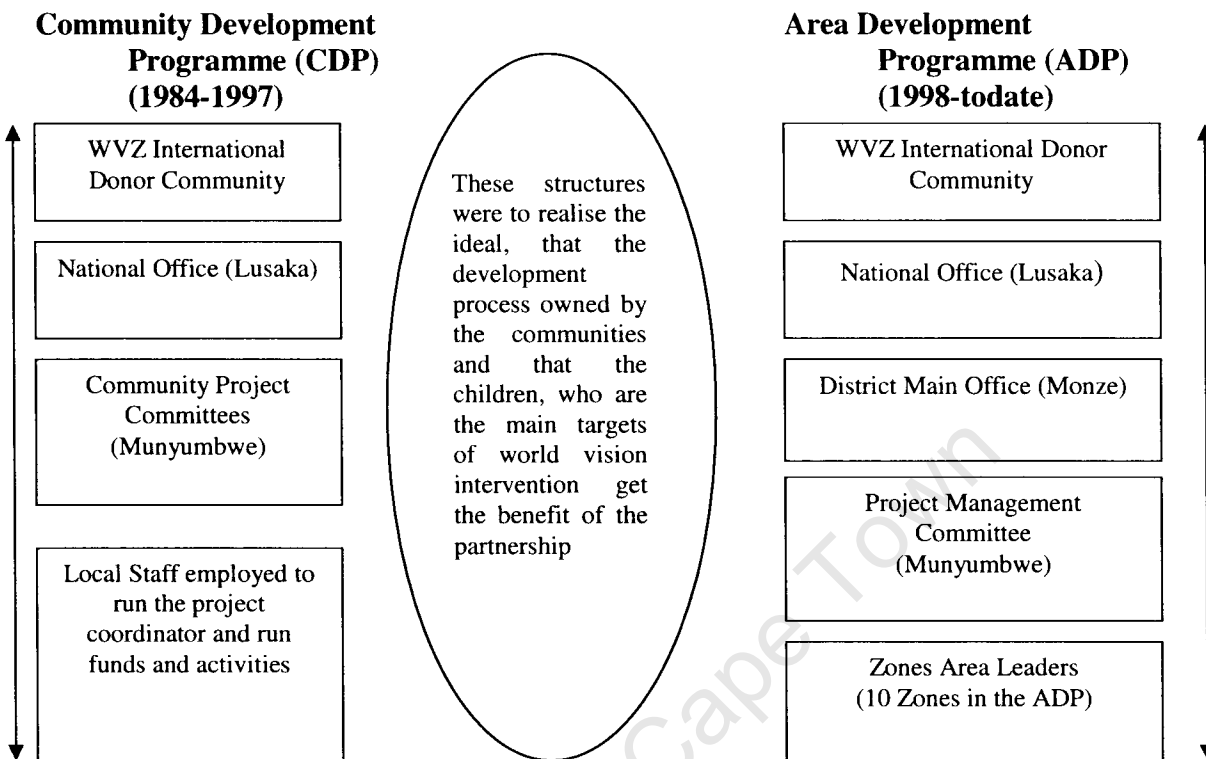


Figure 1: World Vision development structure; past and present

3.6 World Vision experiments at community ownership of development

Community ownership of the projects is defined by the structure or mode under which the project is implemented. The community roles, responsibilities at all projects stages are spelt out by the structure. The structure outlines the consultation process at programme planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. The case for World Vision is demonstrated below, the subsequent change in programme structure alienated the communities from the programmes. They complained that the new development structure under the ADP has taken many powers from the community.

3.6.1 Community development projects (CDP), 1984-1999

In the community development approach (CDP) to programming, the national office would receive funding from an international or local donor (for example World Vision Canada). These funds received after submitting written down proposals. The

community based on its needs develops the proposals. It would outline how much it would contribute and how much it was asking for assistance. Once approved, the communities would receive the funding in their own account. They would do the purchases and all transactions relating to the project as outlined in the approved proposal. This entailed that the communities would account for the funds and activities. They would return the receipts and other documents that required accounting.

The Project Management Committee at local level would employ local staff to assist in the project. The World Vision national office would second a Project Coordinator whose role was limited to advising the community and assisting it in preparing the documents for sourcing funds and in accounting for the funds and activities. The major characteristic of the CDP projects was their predominant 'bias towards welfare, involving handouts, and minimum benefits package' (WVZ 2004: 4)

After the implementation of this model from 1984 to 1997, there were changes in the approach to programming. This was partly due to the limitations were found with the CDP approach, but also to global changes in rural development approach. The global shift manifested itself by the inclination of the donor community to move from funding small community to project in preference for area development projects. This was in response to the need to reach more people in the fight against poverty.

The CDP influenced a relatively small area, sometimes as little as within a radius of 10-15 kilometers. The need to reach larger population through wide geographical areas called change in the CDP approach. The impact of the project consequently was small and limited. The communities displayed a lack of capacity to handle large amounts of money. The increase in funding and donor demands on stringent accountability and monitoring techniques implied that there was lack of capacity in the community to meet these requirements. There emerged a need to hire technical staff and engage more with the communities.

There were some levels of mismanagement by the community leadership of the funds and materials of the project. This spilled over to the quality of the projects' outcomes. For instance, the structures built by the CDPs were of a low standard because the community did not articulate issues of quality when hiring the local constructors.

3.6.2 Area development project era (APD) 1998 to the present

Given the limitations of the CDP, a change in the structure was required. The change came in the form of development approach (ADP). The ADP this covered a much larger area than did the CDP, incorporating an area as large as a district. Through large area coverage, the projects would affect larger populations. The ADP employed many technical staff member who were mainly development facilitators. These were World Vision International Zambia employees. Their terms of reference were to capacity building and training the communities on many aspects of project management, based on the limitations learned during the era of CDPs.

The emphasis of programming was, and still is, capacity building and training within the framework of delivering on the projects goals and activities. In this structure, communities' access to the funds and resources was limited to contributing 25% of the project requirements; these would mostly amount to contributions of labor, local raw materials such as sand, stones, and small amounts of money as commitment fees. The rest of the money and materials, remain under the management of the technical staff at the district office. These would disburse the funds, buy the materials required, and select the builders for contractors. This is in contrast to the practice before where the community handled 100% of the funds. World Vision established an office very close to its operational base in Gwembe.

The Monze office was not there before, hence the funding went directly to the community account. The new structure under ADP, established the Monze, with technical staff employed to handle the 75% of the development funds. This was in response to the increased funding that entailed compiling more professional and technical

3.7 Luumbo Area Development Project (LADP)

[illegible]

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It is in this area separated from the larger area of the district that World Vision International Zambia has been implementing development projects since 1981. The projects implemented in this development enclave are those discussed in the second chapter of this study. These are 'Agriculture, Education, Health, Programme Management, Sponsorship and HIV/AIDs' (World Vision 2007: 1). Under this ADP structure, the community enters into a partnership agreement with World Vision International Zambia.

In this partnership 'World Vision works with the poor, underprivileged, and the oppressed in the communities to promote.... better quality of life' (World Vision, 2005: 1). This goal is something agreed to and desired by both the community and World Vision International Zambia.

Project Organogram for Luumbo ADP

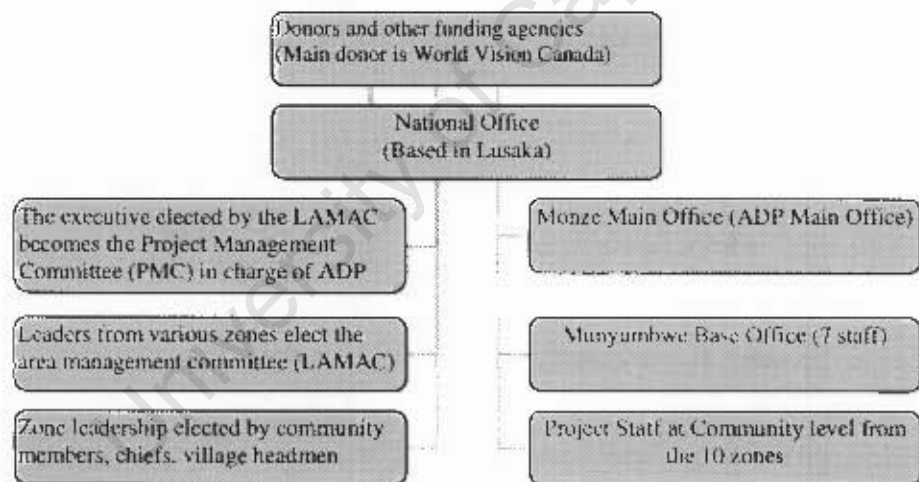


Figure 2: ADP Organogram

World Vision International Zambia, represented by the Monze office (as shown in the organogram) is 'the facilitator in the development process' (World Vision 2005: 3). On the community's side, the villagers elect the zone leaders, who in turn meet to select the second layer of authority, the Luumbo Area Management Committee (LAMAC). The LAMAC is responsible for coordinating community-based activities and seeing to it that project activities are implemented (World Vision 2005: 4). The LAMAC, among other things, supervises the zones, plans budgets, arranges for quarterly meeting, and manages

local accounts for the income generating activities with the World Vision International Zambia ADP staff. It also further advises the ADP staff on community development issues (World Vision 2005: 4). Above this structure is the management committee, whose overall responsibility is to ensure that policies and procedures are implemented in line with the agreements and memorandum of understanding signed between World Vision and the community (World Vision 2005: 4).

World Vision staffs are 'defined as staff employed and hired by the national office either on contract or pension to run and empower the community to run the area development programme' (World Vision 2005: 6). The World Vision structure ends within the zones with at least two members of staff per zone, though these are classified as having being paid by the LAMAC and are labeled 'classified employees'. The community, according to the structure, owns the project as a way of ensuring sustainability and guaranteed development.

Project evaluations are organized and run jointly with the community. Furthermore, while it is stated that 'the area management committee (LAMAC) shall open its own bank account, separate from the ADP Office Bank Account', the ADP manager is the principle signatory to the account until such a time the committee is ready to assume full ownership of the project (World Vision, 2005: 6). Confidentiality of information agreements signed between the parties.

The existence of these structures means that the communities do own the development processes. This was in relation to the assertion made in the 1990s that NGOs had the advantage of size, links to the grassroots, compassionate values, and capacities for efficient service delivery advantages over government development institutions. This was in tandem with the literature that argued that the NGOs best vehicles to make the communities own development process. The NGO would succeed where the state had hitherto failed. World Vision International Zambia is a typical organisation that has attempted to live the celebrated efficiencies of NGO efforts in development. World Vision has been working in Luumbo ADP since 1981.

The study analyses the extent to which the communities have owned the development process, through collaboration with World Vision International Zambia. Community ownership aimed at ensuring that the rural people of Gwembe district meet their development aspirations. The heart of the study is the argument as to whether the proponents of good governance were right in calling for community ownership of development through NGO collaboration. The chapter that follows introduces the study design and observations from the field.

University of Cape Town

Chapter Four

The chapter discusses and analyses the views of the community and all those interviewed. It looks the nature of the projects, structure of implementation. This analyses the extent the intervention facilitated and denied the realisation of the idea of community ownership. The chapter examines the ideas of participation, accountability from a people perspective and shows the extent to which these were realised by the NGO. Notions of partnership, trust, and reciprocity played a role in making the communities fail to own the process.

NGOs in the 1990s promised to make development in the hands of the communities. Community participation, ownership of processes was the hallmark and basis of good governance parlance. This chapter argues and shows how the NGOs how failed to deliver on the promises of good governance.

4. Peoples views on NGOs in development process

4.1 Question of projects, implementation structure and ownership

The crisis of development in Africa by 1980 was blamed on bad public policy management principles of governments in their development projects. Bad governance denied the ordinary people the chance of participation in decision-making. Incorporation of NGOs as major partners and recipients of development aid was the premised on them ensuring that people owned the process.

Progressive NGOs such as World Vision received international funding on the belief that their management and decision-making structures would identify with the poor. The NGOs would inspire confidence of ordinary people by making them own the development process. This way they would meet their aspirations and needs. In this regards, World Vision worked to consult the communities at the start of the project.

World Vision staff moved from village to village-asking people what problems they face in the community. People explained the problems they faced. From these responses, the NGO wrote a programme of action and started implementation activities in Luumbo area of Gwembe. Once agreed on the projects, the mode of implementation and the day-to-day decision-making is true determinant of people owned development process.

In relation to the structural design of projects, governance debate of the 1990 identified the strengths of working with NGOs by pointing out that they had greater ability to target the poor and vulnerable sections of the population. NGOs had strong capacity to build community-based structures that were better able to uphold popular the principles and practice of participation. A key precept of good governance was community ownership of the development projects.

Two decades later, the reality of Gwembe tales that NGOs have able to put to reality the structures that makes the community equal partners and owners of the development. The realisation of such community-based institutions entails less power for the NGO, as the case of the change from CDP to ADP demonstrates. Power here means direct access to resources that is, money. It means control over programmes, information, and jobs. Previously the community had these powers, but the NGO, under the guise of accountability and capacity building, changed the structure to a centralised system with all decisions taken and accounts managed in 'the Monze'(as the community referred to it).

The operations of World Vision International in Gwembe render the assumptions of the 1990s that the NGOs were locally embedded, flexible, low cost, sincere, and proper instruments to reach the poor contested. In the eyes of Luumbo people, the development structure of WVZ does not guarantee participation in decision-making. The communities have no say in the structure and design of the development process. Its top down imposition is contrary to the assertion that the 'NGOs were rooted in the people and therefore represented the people's interest' (World Bank 1995: 51). Related to structure is the idea of reaching the people even in remote far-flung areas. NGOs were

celebrated for their capacity to reach the remotest rural areas where state bureaucracy was weak, not felt, and even not present. The experience of Gwembe challenges this viewpoint, in that the communities identified the habit of NGOs to work only in areas that were easily accessible.

Even with the a parallel structure of community representatives alongside paid NGO staff, the experience of Luumbo points out that the local people are just incorporated alongside to make the projects appear people owned. The NGO staff has the power, not the community elected representatives. The community cannot even write letters to the sponsors of the children, paid NGO staff does this. Such spaces of power imbalance are *ad infinitum*. When a sponsored child is sick, it the employee goes with parent to the hospital, but he is in charge of all moneys that World Vision International pays for the treatment. In this way, the structures created serve the interests of the NGOs and not the community. They are designed more to control information and to keep the community in check so that it cannot send negative information to the donors that may dent the image of the NGO.

4.2 Question of responsiveness, participation and ownership

Related to the notion of structure are the terms responsiveness and feedback. Through responsiveness, participation provides a voice for ordinary people to be involved in the decision-making in the day-to-day operations of the project. With this feature, projects at implementation are to be reviewed whether they are in line with the community needs and aspirations. When evaluating the disappointment of the state development efforts in post-independence Africa, it was argued that the principle reason its failure was lack of participation by the ordinary people. There was no system that allowed for responsiveness and participation in programme cycle. The community had no channel to air their views in every stage of the project.

Goran Hyden (1992:25) echo this fact by pointing out that ‘development became a top down affair... confined to a small clique...who personalized power’. With the state

bureaucracy failing to guarantee participation, NGOs became an avenue through which the voices of the 'poor' became part of the development process. The study notes that NGO structures render the participation and responsiveness of projects to needs of the unachievable. The people in Gwembe have no say at all in the day-to-day operations of the projects in Gwembe.

The centralization of the operations in Monze, as argued by the community, has limited responsiveness and participation of the community in the decision-making process. According to the NGO, this approach helps meet the stringent need for donor reports, which the communities cannot manage and do. The argument by the NGO that the community needs to be prepared for 'project ownership' through capacity building has reduced the interaction between them (NGO) and the community to that of teacher and student relationship. In the face of the NGO structure and development orientation in Luumbo, the people are no longer able to apply authority and have power over the development process, which affect their lives.

The quest for expansion in the light of available donor funding has worked against the World Vision in rural development. Their change of programming from the CDP to territorially large LDP programmes has demonstrated the participation of the community becomes limited in very large NGO projects. Decision-making becomes intricate and there are greater probabilities that of the benefit accrue to NGO elites. NGOs can avoid these problems by remaining quite small. Small projects benefit a few. In the case of Luumbo, the NGO decided to expand in the face of increased funding and a desire to reach more people. This has led to a highly centralized, elite-driven process, which disempowered the communities. NGOs always go for decisions that favour funding. NGO elites hampered responsiveness and participation in Gwembe.

The notion of leadership that prevailed among development practitioners (NGOs) was characterised by '*mbasyaacivwule mwangu*'⁹(let my bow/stomach be filled first). The

⁹ A Tonga saying depicting a greedy, selfish person who thinks of his own stomach before he looks after anybody else. A mean person with no concern for us, his preoccupation is to get more and more

leaders that communities elect into office only think of eating and eating for themselves. This was a reflection of the NGOs whose preoccupation was to attract donors funding for their own continuity. At individual level, this translated into corruption, selfishness and a culture of 'eating' among the NGO elites.

4.3 Question of ownership, participation and empowerment

When asked as to whether the communities owned the development process, there were many varied responses on the nature and meaning of ownership. To the people of Luumbo area, ownership of the ventures meant having total control and say in the management of the projects, especially the activities and the resources. From this perspective, the communities in Luumbo area were unanimous that they did not own the projects because of the structure and design of the programme by World Vision International Zambia.

Communities made a distinction between the original World Vision' - referring to the CDP project structure of 1984-1997 - and the ADP programme approach. They stated that centralization of power in the ADP approach totally removed ownership of the project from the Gwembe community to the NGO elites in Monze. The programmes were directed from Monze offices. This geographical relocation from the Gwembe to Monze made the communities feel disempowered. World Vision International Zambia still maintains staff in Gwembe and at community/zone levels.

Gwembe people recognised the existence of the zone leaders and the area management committees as part of the structure put in place to facilitate consultation and participation in programme management. There were contestations as to whose interests these represented. It emerged that the processes election of the local leadership was not clear to people in Gwembe. There was consensus that the committees in the village had no

for himself. This epitomises someone who lacks *bunyina* or *ubuntu*, which 'can best be summarized as ...[an African] philosophy of life that encompasses brotherliness, togetherness, hospitality, solidarity and mutual supporter support of each other and the community within which one exists' (Tanya, Barben :2006:6)

say in the World Vision programmes. The real power is with the people in Monze and in Lusaka. They were just *Mbasikulya mali aabo bakasalwa abukomonze* (these people eat money with the people in Monze). They only represent their welfare, to eat and not that of the people.

There was confusion in respect of the elected committee members of the village who are not salaried employees of world vision, and the community facilitators paid in by the NGO. These stay in the communities and work on child-sponsorship programmes and any other functions as assigned by the NGO. Though they are rooted in the community in that they are local residents, the focus group discussants were unanimous in stating that these people were corrupted and served the interests of only themselves, like those at national and local levels.

Once one starts work, their thinking changes, even the way they look at us from the community. The local people who employed by the NGOs changed their loyalties. The NGO elites from Monze and Lusaka controlled their manner of speech and thinking. They forget about village language and interests. These local NGO employees looked at fellow community people with suspicion.

Another element in which the communities cited as an example of lack of ownership and control of the development process was the manner in which the projects ended. They cited the change from the CDP to ADP as something about which they were never part of. Some programmes ended without their knowledge, and while they still wanted them to continue. This, according to the community, was an indication of their powerlessness and lack of ownership of the programmes. Of note by the researcher was the continued reference to the development interventions as World Vision projects.

4.4 Question of partnership, trust and accountability

Whilst NGOs strength was in their efficiency and accountability .Today, the experience of World Vision in Gwembe challenges that put the earlier assumptions to doubt. In the realm of public management, the commands of responsible well established.

Governments were accountable to voters. The private companies were equally answerable to their shareholders and the market. NGOs, it is not clear to whom they are accountable. So far, the donor community has larger say in demanding accountability to NGOs because they fund them. It is not clear the extent to which the NGOs are accountable to ordinary whom they work to serve.

The case of Gwembe has illustrated this accountability dilemma. World Vision International Zambia employed technical staff based on the argument that the funds they were receiving were so large that the communities had no capacity to account for them. Furthermore, the reporting requirements that came from the donors necessitated the hiring of technical staff and the creation of a centralised development structure. The community, in contrast, does not get the reports and is not sure how the money is spent.

From the study, it is clear that the communities look at the whole NGO structure as corrupt and unjust, benefiting World Vision at expense of the people of Gwembe. Their arguments are that World Vision is fundraising on our children's behalf, getting money from international donors in the name of people of Gwembe. Yet very little of this money reaches the community. The bulk of it ends up in administrative and operation costs of World Vision and while they as community receive nothing substantial.

The people in Gwembe noted that they could not ask the NGO on general resources and information pertaining to donors. The limited participation by the community and ordinary people in Luumbo that has led them to raise issues of accountability. NGOs in development discourse are accountable to the donors and their funders only. They are not responsive to the communities' need for information. Even the local government structures in charge of development in the district could not ask the NGOs about their development contributions in terms of finances and resources.

The experience with World Vision International Zambia in Gwembe is a typical example of how donor priorities override those of the community. The employment of highly technical staff, in the name of development facilitators, was justified on the grounds of

the need to meet reporting requirements of donors. This makes true the assertions that NGOs' 'accountability shift upwards, rather than where it ought to be, down below with the grassroots' (Zaidi, 1999:266). Much of donors' requirements are time bound and project specific, this has meant that when the project ends NGOs have had to terminate them even when the communities felt that they still needed the services provided by the projects. This has contributed to a feeling of powerlessness on the part of the community, in the whole project process.

The hypothesis that NGOs in development would guarantee participation, accountability, and ownership by the poor in the development process seems to be far cry from the situation on the ground. Communities are incapable of owning the development process. The idea of such ownership is laughed and scoffed by NGO development practitioners. In a way, ownership of the development process by the community would result in the demise of NGOs as institutions and agencies in rural transformation.

The structure of World Vision International Zambia and the community in Gwembe designates the NGO as the facilitator of development. Given the idea that communities are not ready for owning the development process, as argued by the NGO, the notion of leading people to development is rekindled. This makes one realise the wisdom in Nyerere's assertion the people must not be herded like animals in the development process. NGOs have fallen into this trap.

There is a view that that NGO sector is a plethora of 'brain drain from civil servants, ambitious public sector managers attracted by higher salaries and more flexible working conditions available in the NGO sector' (Walle, Ball and Ramachandran, 2003:20). This is recasting what the people of Gwembe observed when they stated that the World Vision International Zambia is creating jobs and on money raised from their children. In this vain, the communities noted that while they appreciated the good programmes that World Vision was implementing, the predominant view was that whatever money was realised from the projects was spent in the huge offices in Monze and Lusaka. In all the discussions, there was general agreement that the NGO did not trust the community in

most of its projects especially in its child sponsorship intervention. The contention was that the children were registered, photographed, and found sponsors in Canada. , the community and even the parents of the children were not allowed to know the name and address of the sponsor. Furthermore, the NGO wrote letters on behalf of the children and the parents to the sponsors without asking or consulting them. To this effect, the communities in Gwembe complained that they produced children so that World Vision gets the money and pays its staff salaries every month.

It is very clear that levels of trust and accountability are very low in Luumbo area, despite the many years that the NGO has worked in the area. This situation has been made worse with the introduction of a highly centralised area development approach (ADP), replacing the popular CDP. The community was unanimous that the NGO was not accountable to them. They had no means of checking for accountability with the NGO. To the community, accountability means being answerable for the resources and activities of the project. Accountability and transparency as championed by governance literature, demands that communities have the right to know what money was raised in their names, how it was spent.

Communities noted that they contributed 25% of the required total for most projects. The remaining 75% contributed by the NGO from donor money, was then NGO best kept secret. Even when they tried to ask the World Vision in Monze, the responses they got were not positive.

When reminded that if there were mismanagement, the NGO staff deserved arrests. The people interviewed were unanimous in stating that the NGOs were very clever. They explained that stealing went beyond just embezzling of funds. They elaborated that World Vision was paying their staff on the moneys raised from the village children. Meanwhile the children were receiving close to nothing, other than pencils and t-shirts, this was equivalent to embezzling at institutional level.

4.5 Contrasting views of NGO field development workers

Development practitioners at field level in Luumbo development area formed part of the respondents for the study. All development practitioners interviewed agreed that the shift from CDP to ADP made the communities disempowered. In the earlier project of CPD, the communities had more control and power over the resources. , as discussed earlier, the CDP approach was abandoned in favour of ADP. Contrary to the community assertion is that there was much progress under the CDP, the NGOs' strong argument for the shift was that there was little or no development in the earlier approach.

The NGO development field officers noted that under the CDP, the people involved in the development process were not experts. The communities were in the habit of hiring untrained personnel. This compromised the quality of the projects. The NGO had to change to the ADP. Under ADP, they employed highly trained staff. These were able to identify bidders capable of producing quality work for rural projects. The technocrats could manage vast resources- especially that the pool of resources changed, increased and diversified to government grants, donations, and huge donor fund flows. The community managers could not do these things.

From the NGO perspective, the communities were not sufficiently ready to manage the development process, given the huge amounts of donor funding. Furthermore, the programme under the ADP entailed that the community was learning new skills through capacity building. There is a slight difference in that the community leaders are being trained now in programme management, community mobilization-just the whole process of project circle.

Capacity building, training, and facilitation have replaced the notion of community ownership. All the development staff agreed that the communities at present do not have total control over the projects. This was inevitable and unavoidable in the face of demanding donor requirements. While efficiency and resource accountability to the donors was achieved, the communities were disempowered. They no longer in control

of the things they used to control before. Sometimes the demands for the donor in terms of reports become overwhelming such that instead of being the community facilitator, the development facilitator becomes the implementer to ensure that the project is in line with donor demands and specifications.

The NGO staff members interviewed were unanimous in believing that it was impossible for the communities to own the development process. It was a long way, a far dream for the community to own the development process. The reason for this was that the donor demands are so stringent that they make it impossible for the communities to own the development process. The only way for communities to own the process was through hiring very qualified technical staff to run projects on their behalf.

Chapter Five

6. Conclusion

The rise of NGO in the development discourse was a reaction to the failures and limitations of the state-led development initiatives. The neoliberal discourse encouraged the rise to prominence of NGOs in service delivery and advocacy functions. NGOs became the vehicles through which the promises of good governance were to be realised. Alas, this is far from reality. The study, argues that rather than being vehicles of rural growth, NGOs are taking the development process backwards.

NGOs in Africa have become new elitist highly centralised organisations that have disempowered the rural population. They have become a source of livelihood for the new elites (local and international) that are celebrating on the back of unlimited funding from the unsuspecting donor community. The state justifiably demonised and vilified for its failure to deliver on development promises. The best alternative was to place for extensive state reforms as opposed to channel resources through NGOs. This selection of NGOs was a rushed decision.

NGOs have not translated the ideas of people owned development process to make real the tenets of participation, accountability, and transparency in the rural interventions. This is true for the people of Luumbo; they do not see any change for the better. The roads are still bad, the clinics still far, they cannot have better clothing, and their livestock levels are declining. This is despite three decades of NGO development processes supported by full-scale donor funding.

The study concludes that for poverty to end and for development to become a reality for the people in Africa, the poor must own the process. The celebrated tenets of ownership, participation, accountability, recipricosity, education and up-skilling, environmental sensitivity, and gender equality are essential for ending poverty. This knowledge by itself, does not translate in to automatic creation of an objective and

effective bureaucracy to realise the ideals. The experience of World Vision international Zambia alludes to this fact. While the state bureaucracy could not ensure that the poor own the development process, the NGOs have lamentably failed to do so. Under the NGO development process, the poor cannot own the development processes. It is therefore time to rethink the best way to make development are owned by the communities.

The sure way open to community ownership of the development process is through a reformed state bureaucracy at local level closest to the communities. Resources, be they from the government or the donor community should be dispersed to the state structures at community and managed in programmes owned by the people. It is through this way perhaps, NGOs can become eyes and ears as part of the larger civil society calling for accountability, transparency, and rule of law in programmes implemented by the community.

The idea of a development process owned by the community is still objectively the answer to ending poverty in most of rural Africa. This study concludes that World Vision International Zambia has failed to ensure that the rural people of Gwembe district meet their development needs. This is because the people in Gwembe do not own the development process.

6.1 Recommendations

In the light of the failure of the World Vision International Zambia to deliver on the promises of good governance, the study makes the following recommendations:

- There should be direct partnership between the rural communities and the funding agencies (donor community proper and state)
- The state and its structure are the ultimate (missing word) that can lend rural development become a reality. There is need to reform the state to make possible within its bureaucracy to be an efficient, effective agent of development that can

collaborate with communities, so that they identify themselves as the owners of its (state) structures.

- Funding to NGOs involved in service delivery must be halted given that this development is not effective and has failed to make rural communities own the development process.
- There is need for further research on how communities can create space for themselves to own the process of development and benefit from the state, private sector and other people of good will. The other way is to give individuals in the communities money, as part of the anti-poverty global welfare fund. The post office in Zambia can handle the payment processes. This will remove all middle agents that are earning their living on poor people's plights.
- It is possible for the poor to own the development process. It is possible to create structures that really make the communities own the development process.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Research instruments

District Level Questionnaire

(District Development Coordinating Committee)

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. My Name is Lawrence Michelo. I am a student at the University of Cape Town, studying for a Masters in International Relations. I am collecting information/data as part of my study requirements for writing a dissertation. My case study is World Vision Zambia development works in Gwembe District. The information being collected will be used exclusively for academic purposes and will be very confidential. Please feel free to ask questions, and note that I will be recording everything we discuss in order to help my report writing later on at school. Our discussion will last no more than 30 minutes.

1. What programme interventions are World Vision implementing in your district?
2. How were these programmes selected?
3. Were you consulted as a district?
4. Were the communities consulted and how?
5. What are the direct long term and short-term objectives that the programme has pursued over the past 10 years?
6. What has been achieved and what has not been achieved and why not?
7. Who initiates the planning cycle, what role does local authority, local community and media play in programme cycle
8. How has World Vision contributed to the development programmes of the district in the last years?
10. Have you noticed any change in approach to programming from the time World Vision came in to district?
11. If yes, what are the changes?
12. Are the programmes being implemented sustainable? How?
13. If no, why not?

Community questionnaire

Focus group discussion questions
(Village level community interview)

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. My Name is Lawrence Michelo. I am a student at the University of Cape Town, studying for a Masters in International Relations. I am collecting information/data as part of my study requirements for writing a dissertation. My case study is World Vision Zambia development works in Gwembe District. The information being collected will be used exclusively for academic purposes and will be very confidential. Please feel free to ask questions and note that I will be recording everything we discuss to help my report writing later on at school. Our discussion will last no more than 30 minutes

1. What are the problems that you as a community have been facing over the last 10 years?
2. What do you consider the major barriers to development in your area?
3. What programmes are World Vision implementing in your area?
4. How were these programmes selected?
5. Were you consulted and how was the consultation process?
6. How have these programmes empowered you?
7. Are you able to change in the programme implementation and can you cite examples where change in programmes happened?
8. Are there any programmes that have in the past being stopped from being implemented by World Vision Zambia?
9. If Yes, what programmes are these?
10. Did you know they would be terminated?
Were you consulted?
11. How sustainable are these programmes?
12. Are the benefits you are getting from the programme going to benefit your future children?
13. If so ,how?
14. If no, why?

Community leaders questionnaire

Focus Group Discussion Questions (Traditional Leaders, Chiefs and Village Headmen)

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. My Name is Lawrence Michelo. I am a student at the University of Cape Town, studying for a Masters in International Relations. I am collecting information/data as part of my study requirements for writing a dissertation. My case study is World Vision Zambia and its development approach in Gwembe District. The information being collected will be used exclusively for academic purposes and will be very confidential. Please feel free to ask questions and note that I will be recording everything we discuss to help my report writing later on at school. Our discussion will last no more than 30 minutes.

1. As traditional leaders, what are the main problems that your communities face in development?
2. How is the best solution to solving these major problems?
3. What programmes is World Vision Zambia intervening in your community?
4. How were these projects identified?
5. Were you and the local community involved in the project selection?
6. Do you think the people are involved in the project management?
7. If yes, how?
8. If no, how and why?
9. Do you think that the programme interventions are sustainable; can the programmes last beyond World Vision in Gwembe District?
10. Do you think that the programmes being implemented by World Vision will last for generations to come?
11. Are your people empowered through these programmes?
12. If yes, how?
13. If no, how and why?
14. How has World Vision been accountable in the project processes?
15. Do the people have any role to play in accountability?
16. How has this role been manifested?
17. Does it help at all in empowering the people?

Programme managers questionnaire

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. My Name is Lawrence Michelo. I am a student at the University of Cape Town, studying for a Masters in International Relations. I am collecting information/data as part of my study requirements for writing of dissertation. My case study is World Vision Zambia and its development approach in Gwembe District. The information being collected will be used exclusively for academic purposes and will be very confidential. Please feel free to ask questions and note that I will be recording everything we discuss to help my report writing later on at school. Our discussion will last no more than 30 minutes

1. World Vision has been doing development work since 1981 in Zambia? What programme shift in the development approach have you noticed since 1981 to date?
2. If there have been changes, why the shift?
3. What measures are in place to ensure community ownership of the project?
4. What measures are in place to ensure community ownership of the project?
5. What measures are in place to ensure community management of the project?
6. What measures are in place to ensure community empowerment of the project?
7. How is sustainability guaranteed/ensured in the current project interventions?
8. Is World Vision accountable to the community and how?

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